



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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MAKE IT DIFFERENT IN '83

Our kids have asked Santa to bring them things; but our unions are asking that our fellow workers in other countries be stopped from sending us so many goodies, on the ground that imports cost jobs.

It might be a good idea if we looked to Santa and the kids for an unconventional approach to this problem, especially since the line we've been following doesn't seem to work.

Kids are not afraid that having too much candy in their homes will make it impossible for them to get some. But their parents find that having too many cars on sale makes grown-ups lose jobs and cars too, and that having too much food in the country makes folks go hungry.

Instead of blaming our troubles on our fellow workers in other lands, might it not make more sense to fix up the American economy so that if folks insist on sending us stuff cheap, we can say "Thanks, but really you shouldn't!"—just as we do when the neighbors insist on giving us cookies?

It is a bit too kind if the neighbor insists on shoveling the snow off our sidewalk—but do we really love work so much that we must not lose it?

All 200 delegates to the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Shipbuilding Conference signed a petition directed to Congress in accordance with what the Bill of Rights says about redress of grievances, asking that they stop Reagan from shipping jobs overseas. They complain that Reagan's authorization of the construction of a billion and a half dollars worth of US merchant ships abroad exported 22,500 shipbuilding jobs, plus another 65,000 related jobs.

AFL-CIO spokesmen carefully talk about "fair trade"—not "free trade" or "protection". In Detroit the soup kitchens that once fed alcoholics now feed unemployed auto workers, and the UAW is asking not for quotas or higher tariffs, but for a domestic-content requirement on imported cars.

Fair trade, say the trade-union spokesmen, should exclude steel dumped here below its cost of production, financed by government subsidy. It should exclude, they

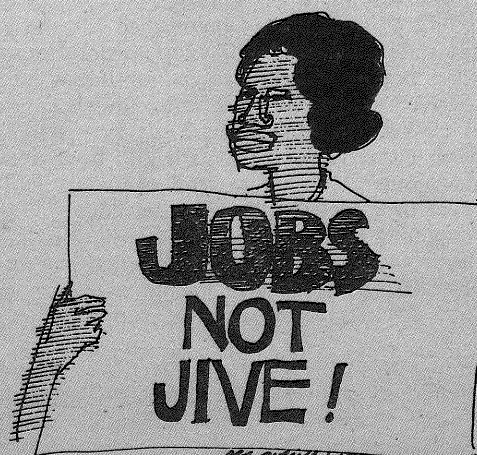
say, shoes that get siphoned here because other countries refuse to let them in. The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department reckons that the US auto industry lost a third of its market and 900,000 jobs to imports, and the steel industry a fifth of its market and 150,000 jobs.

Are all these imports keeping our fellow workers in other lands too busy? Strangely, they complain about unemployment too. Who is making all this stuff then—ET and his pals? And isn't there a need to do a lot of work here that isn't getting done—like building more homes, better roads, and (if we worry about having too much

time on our hands) community places to spend our spare time more enjoyably?

With world trade, as with the Rubik cube, you can't change just one thing at a time, for trade is a two-way street. We live in a world economy where the same multinationals twist our arms no matter what country we work in. The union idea is to act together against that common foe. As human beings, we need to make this earth the home of the human race, and homelike. If the economists can't tell us how, the kids might be able to.

ft



WHAT TO DO WITH OLD NUCLEAR SUBS

The average age of a nuclear submarine is 25 to 30 years. In the 28 years since the US Navy entered the nuclear age, five of its atomic subs have been decommissioned. One plan under consideration to dispose of the subs is to scuttle them—minus their reactors—far at sea. Although the fuel elements will have been removed along with the reactor, normal operation of the reactor makes the sub's structural components radioactive.

The Oceanic Society, an environmental group opposed to the scuttling plan, points out that the disposal of each submarine will equal half of the total radioactivity known to have been disposed of in American waters since ocean dumping began. The Society fears radioactivity would contaminate oceanic life and ultimately show up in edible fish and shellfish. The Society favors burial of the radioactive parts of the submarine on land, pointing out that "It's a lot easier to deal with a pile of scrap metal in the ground than having to go out [to sea] miles down and try to correct a mistake made many years before."

Rape in Jail

In a series of detailed and well-researched articles, *Washington Post* reporter Tofani described the horror of Prince George's County (Maryland) Jail, where violent rapes and sexual assaults occur about a dozen times a week. She got her information from the victims and from those who had participated in the rapes. Many of the victims were being held for trial, and many were found innocent when they went to court.

What was the response of the authorities? The director of the Jail first tried to deny that a serious problem existed, saying "the same things happen at schools". When a guard provided evidence, one official threatened him with prosecution unless he retracted what he had said. But what the *Post* series made visible could no longer be swept under the rug.

Shortly after publication a special grand jury was set up to probe the jail rapes, and the county executive drew up a plan to protect prisoners from such abuse. A long-range part of his plan, inevitably, is to construct another jail.

Post columnist Richard Cohen doubted that much change would result from the public discussion, yet hoped for more. "Possibly," wrote Cohen, "the voters will become cynical about politicians who yell and scream about the innocent victims of crime on the streets, but don't do anything about the victims under their own care. A little education would change matters. Politicians spend time on the streets. Maybe they ought to spend time in the jails."

Black Poverty

It's hell to be poor, and worse if you're black.

In Chicago one out of every five persons is on some sort of illfare (usually mislabeled welfare). It may be food stamps, Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC), "general assistance", or other aid. Some of these people come and go, but there is a relatively permanent core of about 300,000 whom the dispensers of relief have come to call an "underclass"—largely black, and self-perpetuating. "Two thirds of the mothers on AFDC were born out of wedlock", they note, and so are 19 out of every 20 babies born to black teenage girls.

The black ghetto in Chicago grows blacker. In 1970 only 78% of Chicago's blacks lived in areas that were 90% or more black; now 86% of them live in such areas.

There's a ghetto core called "Grand Boulevard" which stretches from Pershing Road south to 51st Street and from Cottage Grove to the Dan Ryan Expressway on the west. Its residents number 53,741, and as of January 1981 over half of them were on either AFDC or general assistance—and times were better then! Not included in that "half" were 2,065 "working poor" who got food stamps. The median Chicago family income at that census was \$18,776, but on "Grand Boulevard" it was only \$6,945. Citywide a third of the households were headed by women, but in that area three-fourths were headed by men. Of the area's males aged 16 to 65, only 43% were counted as members of the "labor force", and only 18.6% had full-time jobs.

The housing in this area consists of once-elegant homes partitioned and packed with people into slums. Some 21% of these homes had no phone, and a tenth had no more than a "half-bath".

The trend is not upward. In 1970 a fifth of Chicago blacks had incomes below the poverty level, and by 1980 this had risen to a third. And urbanologist Pierre de Vise reckons that by the year 2000 "Four fifths of the black households [in Chicago] will be fatherless, nine tenths of white households will be childless, and two fifths of all households will live in poverty."

Such reckoning of course assumes a continuation of current trends, not disrupted by atomic warfare or the working class suddenly deciding to look out for itself... or even coming to recognize that putting any of its members at a job-hunting or house-renting disadvantage means lowering the bargaining power of all workers in negotiations with employers and landlords.

Judge Pincham notes that most of the young men he sentences in Cook County Court are black. "In five and a half years on the bench there has been only one high-school graduate. Only two came from families in which both the father and the mother were in the home. Only one had participated in high-school sports.... In 99 out of 100 cases the crime was committed within a 10-block radius of where the defendant lived, and against his own neighbors."

And when he lands in jail in Chicago (in the nation's second-largest county jail), he finds it crowded. The jail has 4,677 beds, but usually over 5,400 inmates, so many have to sleep on floors, most often without mattresses.

Yes, it's hell to be poor, and worse if you're black.

A HAPPY WHAT?

ITU Says Global

Unionism is Needed

Under the heading "It's Time World Trade Unions Got Together", the *Typographical Journal* (organ of the ITU) for November carries the following forceful argument:

General Motors' "Monza" World Car (Brazil version), now in dealer showrooms, features motors from Brazil, transmissions from Japan, suspensions from Australia, and rear axles from West Germany. Meanwhile, the company (with its \$300 million in after-taxes profits) has closed eight US assembly plants this year.

By conservative estimate, US multinational corporations have destroyed over six million American jobs by transferring production abroad.

Workers in the other capitalist countries face the same problems. The multinational corporations shift production wherever conditions appear most profitable and convenient and labor most "peaceful". And, each country's rulers try to convince "their" workers to pin the blame on some other country's workers.

From South Africa to South Korea to Brazil to El Salvador, workers are fighting for the basic right to organize. They face the same multinational corporations US workers face, often under conditions of repression, racism, or fascism.

When united in action, the world's trade unions are a powerful force. They have waged successful campaigns against Ford, Michelin, Phillips, and other giants. They have freed imprisoned labor leaders, passed laws, refused to load cargo, won strikes, and stopped shutdowns through international unity of action.

International labor co-operation isn't a new idea. But it's an idea whose time has passed by. Let's back it up.

DID YOU NOTICE?

EXHAUSTEE is the newest word in the Canadian lexicon. It refers to those jobless workers who have used up their unemployment-insurance benefits and must now find some new way to stay alive. Welfare in Montreal is up 14% over this time last year, with more than 100,000 people on the rolls. Charitable organizations like L'Entraide Chez Nous and the Salvation Army report that requests for aid have doubled in the last year.

UNEMPLOYMENT DELIGHTS PENTAGON: "We're getting all the recruits we need," Defense (sic) Secretary Weinberger stated after presenting President Reagan with a report from the Military Manpower Task Force. The Pentagon's total force objective for Fiscal Year 1982—which ended September 30th—was 2,108,000. Actual strength as of June 30th was 2,107,000. The report noted concerns that while the eligible military-age population is 12% black, over a third of the enlisted people in the Army are black, and blacks make up 22% of the Armed Forces overall. "I think it reflects primarily the basic patriotism of black volunteers," Weinberger declared. "As the President has very well said, it's an honor to wear the uniform again, and there's been quite a change in the country with respect to the way the military profession is viewed."

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO remains the nation's highest unemployment area, with 18.7% jobless. September was the second straight month that the Youngstown-Warren steel-industry area led the nation. (Its August rate was 21%.) Stamford, Connecticut had the lowest rate, with 3.5%. Among the states, the unadjusted data showed Michigan again with the highest level of joblessness at 14.5%. Illinois's rate rose from 8% to 12.1%.

URBAN PUBLIC HOSPITALS' bed space in 31 large cities dropped almost 40% between 1950 and 1980, even though the number of beds in other types of hospitals was rising by 60%. Today only one bed in seven is in a public hospital. Meanwhile, cuts in public assistance, food stamps, and emergency-heating allowances will do nothing to make poor people healthier.

THE GREATER CHICAGO FOOD depository and emergency food agency has nearly doubled the amount of food it distributes—6.5 million pounds in 1982, up from 3.8 million in 1981. The agency distributes Government commodities, donated surplus items from bakeries and food companies where products are about to go stale, and—new this year, as demands for emergency food have soared—damaged goods from grocery stores that used to be thrown out as worthless. The city's Department of Human Services has increased its budget for emergency food packages, which go to people whose welfare checks have been delayed or whose houses have burned, from \$1.1 million to \$2.2 million.

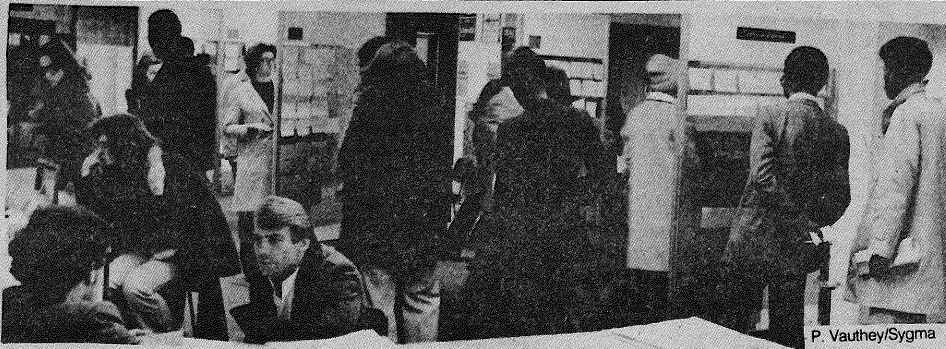
THE POLISH GOVERNMENT has formally arrested five former leaders of the now-disbanded Polish civil-rights organization KOR on charges of "making preparations for the violent overthrow of the Polish socio-political system". Four of the five had been interned without charge for almost nine months: Jack Kuron, Jan Litynski, Adam Michnik, and Henryk Wujec. The fifth arrested KOR member is Jan Jozef Lipski. If brought to trial, they will appear before a military court under summary proceedings which provide for a maximum sentence of death and which deny the accused the right of appeal.

TO CURTAIL ABORTIONS, the Reagan Administration is proposing guidelines that would make it more expensive and cumbersome for federally-funded clinics providing family care to perform them. The steep increase in costs would come under a proposal to require all family-planning agencies to use separate facilities and personnel from those used for offering contraceptives and birth-control information.

THE MORE TIME SPENT using video-display terminals, the more likely workers will be to suffer blurred vision, stress, muscular aches, dizziness, and headaches, according to the Canadian Labor Congress. The union group—the equivalent of the US's AFL-CIO—recommended that workers using VDTs be given reduced work-days and more-frequent rest periods, and that improvements be made in the design of display terminals.

US FARMS PRODUCE 50% more food and fiber than can be consumed in this country. The 200,000 farms in the top tenth produce two thirds of all marketed crops, and are wrecking the soil to do so. Fewer than 4% of the farms account for over 44% of gross agricultural sales. Only a fourth of the farms had sales exceeding \$40,000. The bottom third had sales of less than \$2500, and farm families in that group averaged \$17,000 in non-farm income. Farm subsidies are mostly transfers from the poor to large farm corporations via higher prices.

RETIRED SINGLE WORKERS in the US average only 44% of their pre-retirement earnings. In Italy they average 69%, in Austria and Sweden 68%, in France 64%, in Japan 54%, and in West Germany 49%. Retired couples with only one spouse working averaged 66% of earnings the year before retirement in the US, beaten by four other countries. Sweden headed the list, paying such couples 83% of the breadwinner's pre-retirement earnings.



Around the world, unemployment offices are the same: crowded. This one is in France.

Organizing Against Concessions

"Workers have been sold a bill of goods. Concessions don't create jobs." This was the view shared by speaker after speaker at the *Labor Notes* conference entitled "Organizing Against Concessions". *Labor Notes* is an independent trade-union monthly founded by activists close to Teamsters for a Democratic Union. The conference, held over the November 12th weekend at the Detroit Airport Hilton, was attended by over 700 trade-unionists. Among these were members of nearly 40 trade unions from 25 States and Canada. The large turnout signified a growing restlessness among trade-union ranks over contract concessions to employers.

A variety of causes were mentioned for the wave of concessions. The increased ability of corporations to shift investments between workplaces, communities, and countries was given as one factor. The worldwide conservative political climate and government austerity was another. Along with conservative politicians and hard-nosed corporate employers, top union leadership was faulted. In fact it became clear from listening to many militant unionists that they have had to fight their international unions as much as their employers. Most of the leaders in the AFL-CIO and CLC have bought management's position that workers must sacrifice to preserve company profits.

According to maverick labor leader Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, the very term "concession" has its roots in class collaboration. "When did this term become part of our vocabulary? Perhaps I could ask each of us here to try and remember when was the first time that we ever heard the term 'concessions' used in collective bargaining? I remember in 1977 in our negotiations, when the employer came with demands to take away seniority rights, shop-steward rights, protection from casual labor, and technology rights, these were demands for 'rollbacks'.... Even when we took a real loss in purchasing power, we did not call this a 'concession'. We just called it 'a lousy contract'.... [Today] powerful forces within the working class are actively promoting the strategy of reducing wages to improve the profitability of corporations. For the first time [sic] great union leaders are actively encouraging

ing the union leadership. CUPW president Parrot likewise described the trade unions as "democratic", but said what was needed was "forums" to exchange ideas on fighting concessions. Of course even a corrupt pro-concessions union leader like Teamster president Roy Williams could workers to compete against each other."

These "misleaders" of labor are sadly mistaken. Many of the conferees were able to point out from their own experience how companies used money won from contract concessions to relocate their plants to other communities, diversify into other industries, buy other companies, or even prepare their plants for shutdowns. In case after case, contract concessions were followed by elimination of jobs and requests for more concessions. Even when employers actually used concession money to "upgrade" their facilities, such upgrading allowed them to reduce their work force.

In some cases, however, concessions have been justified as a trade-off involving acceptance of economic losses in return for a "worker voice" in management. The best-known example of this was the UAW concessions contract at Chrysler that resulted in UAW president Doug Fraser's being given a seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors. Rank-and-file unionists pointed out how concessions have been accompanied by the creation of "quality circles" and union-management committees at the local level. Not surprisingly, such schemes failed to give workers the power to overrule management decisions, but were quite successful at making union leaders sympathize with the employer. This then led to further concessions.

During the most provocative speech at the conference, UAW Local 122 president Bob Weissman exposed the absurdity that unions too weak to win economic gains could win managerial rights instead. "Concessions are a retreat, not a trade-off.... If we had the bargaining power to win control over the corporations, it's obvious that we wouldn't have had to make concessions in the first place."

While there was general agreement at the conference that union concessions were a bad idea, there was a wide difference of opinion on how to stop trade-union leaders from accepting them. In some ways the cures depended on one's position in the trade-union hierarchy. OCAW vice-president Tony Mazzochi felt that adopting a broad anti-corporate program was more important than chang-

agree with these sentiments. So there were plenty of local-level union officers and rank-and-filers who felt it was time to dump the higher-ups.

The suggested solutions revealed both possible strengths and possible weaknesses of an emerging anti-concessions movement. The variety of political slogans suggests that the trade-union Left is breaking out of its isolation. New links are being forged, and old enmities are being put on the back burner in hopes that a united Left can play a leading role in the resurrection of the labor movement. In the short run, this is bad news for the corporations and the trade-union bureaucrats. At Saturday's banquet this was underscored when a collection taken up for the striking Chrysler workers in Canada totaled nearly \$1500.

At the same time the conference demonstrated that the trade-union Left, for all its militancy, has learned nothing. For if, as they said, the trade unions are on the defensive because of a lack of vision, corruption, and institutional ties to the System, why should rebel workers bail them out? Didn't the trade-union Left do the very same thing in the 1930s when the AFL was dragged, kicking and screaming, into the 20th Century by the creation of the CIO? What did the rebels receive in return? An industrial-union bureaucracy tied to capitalist politicians and the corporate economy. This is the main reason for the wave of concessions. The workers are still dependent on the trade unions, and the trade unions are dependent on the System. The corporations are now using this to their advantage.

It is time that militant trade-unionists make a break with this vicious cycle. Only worker-run unions are capable of winning real worker control over investment decisions. Only revolutionary unions are prepared to carry out the general strikes and international solidarity that will put an end to corporate capitalism. Let's start building such an organization now. Otherwise we'll be holding conferences on "Organizing Against Concessions" fifty years from now.

Jeff Stein

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AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

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Carlos Cortez, Leslie Fish,
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Boycotts Mean No Business

Back in 1977 union workers at Coors Brewery in Golden, Colorado struck against an invasion of their privacy rights. They were replaced by scabs, and the long boycott of Coors beer followed. On September 26th *Sixty Minutes* gave a pro-company version of the boycott, putting none of the strikers on the air. The AFL-CIO has asked CBS to follow up with a factual view of the boycott, and it is contemplating a fairness complaint to the Federal Communications Commission if CBS fails to do so.

Other products on the AFL-CIO "Do Not Buy" list include Procter & Gamble soaps, for P&G won't bargain with the Steel Workers who won an election in their Kansas City plant; Bruce Church iceberg lettuce for refusal to deal with the United Farm Workers; R.J. Reynolds tobacco for many decades now; the Kosmos Cement Company because the Moore-McCormick Company took it over and refused to honor the existing union contract; the Seattle First National Bank for refusal to deal with a union of its employees; and the Indiana Desk Company, where Furniture Workers have been on strike since March.

Iowa Beef Processors crushed the UFCW strike there last summer with tear gas and imported scabs herded by troops. It furnishes much pre-cut meat to small butcher shops, and can be influenced by you if you have a chat with your butcher.

Other boycotts are current but not on the AFL-CIO list. One is a Farm Worker boycott of all Campbell and Libby products, kept up in the hope of getting Campbell and the Ohio farmers who grow tomatoes for it to deal with organized farm workers. Another is against Nestle—not for its wage rates, but for its unethical practice of getting mothers to switch from breast milk to its products in areas where lack of refrigeration or hot water made baby bottles a menace.

The Nestle experience shows that boycotts can be effective. Some months ago Nestle announced compliance with a marketing code that it felt would end the boycott, but the groups sponsoring the boycott considered that inadequate. Recently the company announced a further move in the hope of getting the boycott called off, but this paper has not been informed of any end to the boycott as yet.

When was the last time you heard of a boycott being lifted? If publicity about the lifting of boycotts was followed by a substantial increase in sales, that might help make boycotts more effective.

Some have been asking in recent years whether the boycott might not be made into a far more powerful weapon if it were reserved for instances in which there was a good chance of having it widely observed, and then pursued vigorously with human-interest educational campaigns. To make that policy work would require that boycotts get lifted either out of resignation when they are ineffective, or with a flourish of trumpets when they work—but either kept alive or buried.

Your Job and Health

The Sierra Club charges that enforcement by OSHA and MSHA (mine safety) has grown lax while industrial hazards are actually increasing. Its 25-page analysis contends that some 10 million workers are exposed daily to cancer-causing substances that result in about 100,000 cancer deaths per year.

AFL-CIO Occupational Safety Director George Taylor says that over half the general-schedule inspections conducted by OSHA between October 1980 and June 1982 were mere reviews of employer records only. The penalties for violations have long been mere slaps on the wrist, but even these penalties dropped 70% in 1981-82 to a mere \$611,661 for the year.

In the first nine months of 1982 OSHA inspections dropped 25%, complaint inspections 58%, follow-up inspections 87%, citations for repeated violations 64%, and total penalties 70%. Complaints filed also dropped 50%, but is there less to gripe about? Surely not! There's just less feeling that it might be worthwhile to complain.

In 1980 OSHA ruled that company records on employee health and toxic exposure should be accessible to employees and their unions. The Louisiana Chemical Association protested that this ruling would bare company trade secrets, infringe on the privacy of workers, and subject employers to unreasonable search and seizure; and also that OSHA had no authority to issue such a rule. A federal district court in Louisiana has now rejected that plea.

Medical doctors in the US averaged \$86,210 a year in 1981, and did even better in the poverty-stricken states of Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee, averaging \$102,860. Doctors oppose any national health program that might induce people to see them as soon as they feel bad, even though this would be certain to cut down the incidence of many contagious diseases.



Unions: Courts

When miners at a Consolidation Coal mine in West Virginia walked out despite a no-strike clause in their contract, the company wanted to discharge the two shop stewards who walked out with them. An arbitrator reduced the penalty to a 30-day suspension of the two stewards. The NLRB, by a 3-to-2 vote, overturned the arbitrator's decision on the ground that singling out the two stewards for punishment was to punish them not for the action they had taken in concert with their fellows, but merely for being shop stewards.

American Cyanamid barred women of child-bearing age from jobs that might expose a fetus to hazards, unless the women had been sterilized to prevent pregnancy. The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers protested, and OSHA levied a \$10,000 penalty, insisting that the company provide a safe workplace instead. A review commission dismissed the citation, but the US Court of Appeals decided that the union could seek a reversal of the review commission's action, and the Supreme Court has decided not to block that proceeding.

The Supreme Court has also agreed to review a case brought by a Newport News shipyard worker who wanted his company insurance to pay the hospital expenses for his wife during childbirth, as it would have paid had she been an employee. He contends that he is a victim of sex discrimination, and that a male employee becoming a parent should have the same claim to expenses as a female employee becoming a parent. The Supreme Court has also agreed to review the case of a woman employed by the State of Arizona who complains that women draw lower monthly pension benefits—a policy premised on the contention that actuarial tables show that women live longer than men.

PENALTY BANKRUPTS ACTORS' UNION

Johns-Manville Asbestos started it—going into Chapter 11 bankruptcy so as to keep on functioning in the face of penalties that might drive it under. Now the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) is doing likewise because of a suit that takes one back to the Danbury Hatters.

AFTRA had put a small non-union firm known as Tuesday Productions on its unfair list, and the company had filed suit. Last spring a jury awarded the company \$10.5 million in triple damages in an anti-trust suit. The most cash the union could come up with was just enough for a \$2.5 million bond while it appealed. But the judge said it would have to pay the full amount, and should assess its members enough to do so.

The basis of the suit is the circumstance that advertising agencies under contract with AFTRA refused to handle the commercials made by Tuesday Productions. The company contends that this is a secondary boycott, forbidden by the Taft-Hartley Act and not exempt from anti-trust prosecutions.

The same company has sued the Screen Actors' Guild, but this suit has not yet come to trial.

LABOR IN NORTH AMERICA

In 1981 federal employees filed 6,448 unfair-labor-practice charges against the Government, and the number of such charges keeps rising. The reason, according to their union: "With unfair-labor-practice charges having no deterrent effect, the agencies commit illegal acts and challenge the union to file more charges. The agencies then accept the slap on the wrist they get two years later when they are found guilty." The General Accounting Office recommends that unions and departments aim at more informal settlements.

Collective bargaining proved tough in the first nine months of 1982. The Bureau of Labor Statistics summary includes settlements affecting only a thousand or more employees. Where cost-of-living provisions continued, increases averaged only 2.2%, but where COLA did not apply they averaged 7.1%. A year earlier, first-year increases had averaged 8.3%.

For 1983 the 10,000 unionized employees of the City of Chicago not covered by formal contracts will get increases averaging 6.5%, with no COLA. The city's 13,600 white-collar employees will get about a 5% boost. The 18,000 unionized police and fire fighters will get 11% in two steps under union contracts.

Across the country the presidents of United Steel Workers locals rejected the concessions that international officers proposed, so current contracts will run to August 1983. The rejected proposal would have cut average hourly pay by \$1.50 (plus 75¢ in other benefits). Prevailing sentiment ran that accepting the cuts would not put anyone back to work.

Bakery, Confectionery, and Tobacco Workers won an 85-cent increase in November—plus another 85¢ this coming fall for the 4,000 workers who make Keebler's biscuits in Atlanta, Cincinnati, Denver, Grand Rapids, Macon, and Philadelphia—despite TV implications that it's elves in tree trunks who do the work.

Under a regulation drafted by the Canadian Atomic Energy Control Board, allowable radiation limits for women workers in nuclear installations—at present about a fourth of those for men—would be raised to the men's level. Previous radiation maximums—1.3 rems for women and 5 rems for men—were based on the risk of exposure during the time of pregnancy. The new limit shift means that women will be eligible, with men, for supervisory and maintenance jobs, but these positions may take them inside shielded areas in nuclear-power reactors where they will be exposed to additional radiation risk.

A rem is a measure of radiation dosage. The average person who does not work with radioactive materials receives only about a tenth of a rem a year. Estimates vary widely about what level if any is safe, although the fast-dividing cells of fetuses are known to be very susceptible to radiation damage, and uranium miners have much higher than normal death rates from leukemia and cancer. But since women and men both have the same risk of long-term chronic effects from radiation exposure, doesn't it make more sense to lower the men's limits to match the women's in the industry that is the world's most dangerous and inefficient means of boiling water?



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SOUND OF A DISTANT DRUM

When future generations judge our age—and damn them for their impudence—they will say of us that we were shallow, cynical, and indifferent to the great tragedies of our time. With two world wars under our belts, the carnage of the Far Eastern slaughterhouses, the refinement of the engines of war that can offer the dog soldier mass murder by the millions, and the social idealism of past generations made sour by inept fools tripping over the black and the scarlet as they call on the people to follow them into the bog of their own political verbiage, there is only the faithful hand-on-heart minority to cry "I believe; I do believe."

We are of a world wherein every Western country can count its unemployed working men and women by the millions; of a Western world where the fields are heavy with the weight of new-grown foods, and yet men and women and children stand in lengthening queues to be handed the begging bowl of State or religious charity. And we are of a world of which the staid English Tory *Times* newspaper, as the voice of the bedded Establishment, can this day scream "Horror! Horror!" at the actions of the American military squatters within the Pentagon, as in full uniforms complete with the medals of famous battles fought in many a boardroom, they plan more murders than the Boston Strangler or Manson and his hippie commune fantasized or fulfilled in their sick and sorry funfest.

President Reagan, late of Hollywood, has informed the world that the Military have informed him that he and they have decided to junk that ol' Minuteman nuclear missile in favor of the newfangled MX four-stage, long-range nuclear missile with its complex built-in guidance systems, which give it great accuracy as well as enormous destructive power. Christmas is near at hand, and we must allow Ronald and the high-priced Military men wining, dining, and doodling within the Pentagon their seasonal shopping in this month of Good Will to All Men and Women's Lib.

What has made the English *Times* newspaper editorial staff sick before the pudding of the 25th is that the MX will be in wolf packs of close formation, on the unproven theory that friendly and enemy nuclear missiles will blow each other to hell with hardly a need for a single stretcher or pain-killer. But the sick joke that has come popping out of the Christmas cracker is the "overkill"—estimated at 10,000,000 charred bodies of men, women, and children. And I will venture to claim that the whole of the American armed forces stationed in Europe will be physically destroyed to a man in a patterned nuclear bombing of the European battleground; for despite all Government bullshit handouts on air-raid defense, there is no protection and no salvation when the button is pressed.

Most of the peoples of the world have come to a fatalistic acceptance of the idea that "They" either will or won't drop the bombs, and that there is nothing effective that can be done about it. And yet there are those small minorities who do protest; and among them are the women, wet and cold and harassed by the State, who maintain their vigil outside the military camp at Greenham Common in Berkshire, where the American Military—with the full Judas agreement of Ma Thatcher's Tory Government—are going to site cruise missiles aimed toward Russia, knowing that the Russian military politicians, in that international spirit of McEnroe return service, will lob over their cruising hardware, while both major powers will claim that the referee gave the wrong decision.

The British Labour Party officials have been forced by their militant rank and file to agree to have all American nuclear missiles removed from Britain when they form the Government. But while the Party bosses promise this with their hands on their wallets, who really believes it? The logic of removing American missile sites is sound and rational,

in that it is argued that with all nuclear missiles selfishly sited in America, Russia will fight only a conventional war in Europe, simply to grab ground, and it can be fought—win or lose—without the loss of millions of lives. But like all banana republics, British Governments know that if they accept American State military and economic aid, they must be prepared to lay down my life and the lives of millions of other men, women, and children on the European mainland. And I quote you the battle of the Falkland Islands. So the women of Greenham stand in the rain outside the wire of the camp, protesting the siting of the nuclear missiles, and 23 have been jailed by the State for their protest, and this day the vigil is being held outside Holloway women's prison for those still held within.

Across the town, in the slummy, crowded district of King's Cross by the main-line railway station, "Come Fly With Me", a group of masked women prostitutes, have sought sanctuary in the Church of the Holy Cross. The Church leaders were sensible enough to stand by them, and apart from the inevitable cries of rage from a few churchgoers the women's case has received sympathetic attention. And for my part I can do no better than to let them speak, and I quote: "The English Collective of Prostitutes is occupying the Church of the Holy Cross, because we will no longer tolerate the illegality and racism of the police in Argyle Square and the whole of King's Cross. 'Women Against Rape' and 'Black Women for Wages for Housework' share our Women's Centre, and are sitting in with us. We are here to demand: (1) an end to illegal arrests of prostitutes; (2) an end to police threats, blackmail, harassment, and racism; (3) hands off our children; (4) an end to the arrest of boy friends, husbands, and sons; (5) the arrest of rapists and pimps instead; and (6) immediate protection, welfare, and housing for women who want to get off the game."

If future generations judge us, then let them judge us by the actions not of our self-proclaimed leaders, but of the women of Greenham and the Church of the Holy Cross.

Arthur Moyse, London

URUGUAYAN UNIONIST MURDERED

In October 1982 a 72-year-old trade-unionist named Ramon Freire Pizano died in Montevideo's Libertad prison. The next day his body was handed over to relatives along with a familiar instruction: Do not open the coffin. In Uruguay this means the deceased has been abused, if not tortured to death. The military regime that has ruled Uruguay since 1973 arrested Pizano, head of the wool workers' union, and nine other unionists one year ago. They were summarily found guilty of giving "assistance to subversive associations" and sentenced to eight years in prison, the maximum term.

Pizano's murder was hardly unprecedented, but it was isolated. While Uruguay is generally recognized as one of the most repressive countries in South America, the last time a political prisoner died under duress was two years ago. Yet if it doesn't augur a return to the darkest days of the military takeover, Pizano's death nevertheless serves as a barometer of military feelings and of the course the military plan for a "guided" return to civilian rule is taking. Even though all parties on the left—Christian Democrats, Communists, and Socialists—have been barred outright in the upcoming elections, and candidates have been forbidden to mention Uruguay's worsening economic situation, social problems, or the possibility of lifting political restrictions, the various parties are attempting to rally support for ending military rule.

DESCHOOLING THE WEST BANK

Israeli military occupiers of the West Bank have been reducing the status of the four university-level West Bank institutions to the level of secondary schools under a Military Government order. The order also requires that the universities re-apply annually to the Military for authority to re-open. Students and staff must have written permission from the military governor to join a university.

There is also press censorship, designed to stifle the emergence of political or cultural nationalism among the Palestinians living on the West Bank. Most Arab newspapers must be published in East Jerusalem, because publication elsewhere in the occupied territories is subject to Israeli permission. All copy must pass military censorship before publication.

WORLD LABOR NEWS

Workers in Israel engaged in the biggest strike that country has yet known on December 8th. High inflation was the premise for the workers' demands, but this inflation results from the Government's warring policies, making the strike a condemnation of these policies.

The first general strike in Argentina in seven years protested rising prices, low wages, and the murder of thousands of dissidents by the military junta. For years the widows of men who have simply disappeared have been marching in weekly protests. Late in November human-rights groups made extensive searches in graveyards, and by November 28th had found more than 1500 bodies. The number who disappeared has been estimated at 6,000 to 15,000. The strike was forbidden by the militarists, but the 10 million unionists in the country walked out in defiance, triggered by this proof of what they had long suspected. The junta's Falkland war served no practical purpose except to disorient the working class. It has fueled inflation and backfired here as in Israel.

In mid-November Amnesty International, which has

long been calling the world's attention to these "disappeared" of Argentina and Chile, urged 28 member states of the Organization of American States to desist from the torture and murder of their political and labor opponents.

To coincide with Reagan's visit to Guatemala a human-rights group named American Watch issued a 132-page report on the consistent and gross violation of human rights in that country. "Those who are with the Government are fed," it reported, "and those who are not with the Government are shot."

The Philippine Military killed the Reverend Zacarias Agatep last November, jailed two other priests, and are hunting more, on the ground that the priests had intervened on behalf of peasant and working-class parishioners against military abuse. In many rural areas, families live in dread of the knock on the door at night that will take some of their members into custody.

"Fewer people are employed in India today than in 1961 despite a population increase since then of more than 65%," writes David Albert in the November issue of *Win*. The population has been growing in recent years because life expectancy at birth has risen from 35 years in 1950 to 54 years now. There has been only a small drop in the birth rate. The longer life is the result of extensive public-health projects in a poverty-stricken country of lavish wealth. Its population is now 680 million, exceeded only by that of China. Two thirds of the voting-age population votes—and for a wide range of parties—but 80% of the voters can't read. India has "the third-largest trained work force in the world; its 100-plus universities are jammed, turning out many of the world's best doctors, scientists, and engineers for Europe and America's hospitals, defense establishments, and businesses."

The US State Department contends that the Soviet Union has four million citizens serving forced-labor sentences. Of these about 1.5 million are said to have been sentenced and put on probation "with compulsory involvement in labor", chiefly on construction jobs. The rest are said to be confined in work camps on other projects. Can someone detail for us to what extent this is the parallel to job-connected parole and probation in this country, fitted to a different economic setting?

Swiss catering unions are asking for "equal pay for men and women for work of equal value; four weeks' annual leave for all, with longer holidays for young and older workers".

Finnish restaurant workers have launched a campaign requesting customers to demand more service, and distribution workers have joined in, asking that customers abandon the self-service systems of weighing and packing, as this costs regular employees their jobs.

Israel Exports Arms

Until 1973 Israel was not a significant part of the world arms trade, though it had already built up a considerable domestic military industry. Figures are of course classified, but the best indication is that before then the country had no more than \$10 million a year in arms sales.

Sometime in the mid-1970s Israel started going into the arms trade in a big way. By 1976 it was exporting \$300 million worth (in current US dollars). By 1979 that had doubled to \$600 million, and the next year it doubled again to \$1.2 billion. It is probably safe to say that during this period Israel's arms exports grew faster than those of any other nation in the world.

In terms of the total world arms trade Israel's exports don't amount to a great deal, but in terms of Third World activity they are significant. From 1970 to 1979 Israel was the largest arms merchant of the Third World, accounting for 26% of sales in Third World countries. Since 1980 its role has diminished somewhat (Brazil has become the leader), but it still supplies roughly a fifth of all armaments to those countries.

In terms of Israel's own economy, the arms trade has played a consequential part. Arms exports through the

1970s grew steadily until they became 5.8% of the country's total exports in 1976. In 1979 they accounted for 5.5% (the latest figure). This is striking when compared to Brazil, whose arms exports amounted to only 0.8% of its total exports in 1976, and 0.4% in 1979. Similarly, from 1970 to 1979, Israel's military expenditures consistently came to more than 20% of its gross national product, while Brazil's military expenditures never exceeded 1.5% of its GNP.

The leading recipients of Israeli arms have been South Africa (which took as much as 35% of Israel's shipments during the 1970s), Argentina, El Salvador, Honduras, Singapore, and Taiwan. Israel's principal military exports include Kfir-C2 fighter-bombers, Shafir and Gabriel missiles, and Reshef-class patrol boats, but in the last few years it has increased its sales of small arms, ammunition, and electronics equipment.

(reprinted from the *Nation*, Volume 235, Number 19)

Some Things Our Members Are Doing

ONE FELLOW WORKER STUDIES IN CHINA

Fellow Worker J. Brian O'Day wrote his New York fellow workers from Fudan University in Shanghai, thanking them for branch bulletins and news. He added these comments:

"As for life in China, I am rather impressed. The people are not the starving peasants and sweatshop workers I have studied about from pre-liberation days. Most of them are well dressed in clean Mao suits and seem well fed. On the bus, riding their bikes, or walking in the park, they give the impression of being happy, content, and without great worries.

"I hadn't expected the level the standard of living has reached. There are no lines for food or necessities—in fact, no lines at all. The Number One department store in Shanghai is like a less commercialized Sears, complete with televisions, watches, and the like. There seems to be a small but growing consumerism with billboards replacing wall posters. It is not uncommon to see a man on the bus carrying home a new radio. To remind you that this is China, he will be standing next to a lady carrying a live duck home for dinner.

"The one thing I was a little worried about in coming to China was the System. Even after all I had studied, the residue of McCarthyism was still with me. In the last two months this fear of the unknown has left, as my understanding has increased. The System is there, but it functions more as a bumbling bureaucracy than as Big Brother. For the Chinese, who have been dealing with bureaucracy for two thousand years, this seems only natural. There are still problems here, which the Chinese admit to. But generally I have to be upbeat. I like what I see."

SOLIDARITY KEGGER IN WASHINGTON

The winter's first sleet melted in time to allow a good attendance at the Bellingham IWW's "Solidarity Kegger" for ILWU Local 15. Fifty warehouse workers walked off the job last April to protest a \$2 wage cut—and are now all unemployed as the result of arbitration.

The Wobs provided the refreshments, and the Fairhaven Co-op Flour Mill donated their warehouse and the grain bags for seats. The turnout exceeded expectations, with people from at least eight unions attending. Partway into the festivities, a soapboxer hopped up and began talking about solidarity. This led to a general discussion on tactics—strikes versus direct action. One warehouse worker, suddenly out of work after 30 years at the South Terminal, said "Workers are so hamstrung by so-called labor laws that we couldn't do a thing once we walked out. We shoulda stayed on the job and done what we already knew how to do."

This gathering could spark others. Several folks, as they headed out the door, said that more of these solidarity gatherings should be held. This one got people talking, and it gave the Bellingham IWWs a boost, too.

THAT SEASON SPIRIT

We haven't launched any campaign for gift subs to the *Industrial Worker*, but we were pleasantly surprised when one member sent in a whole handful before Christmas. We can't think of any better way to say "Peace on Earth—and Solidarity!" Such subs are just as welcome in January and February—or any other month—as in December.

APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY

Amnesty International USA is participating with other national sections of AI in a large-scale relief effort on behalf of detainees, prisoners of conscience, and their families in Poland. Contributions to the fund will be forwarded to the AI International Secretariat in London and then given to a relief agency in Poland. If any readers would like to contribute to this relief effort, just make a check payable to Amnesty International USA and send it to AIUSA, 304 West 58th Street, New York, New York 10019. And please mark the check "political detainees in Poland".

WHEN THE FBI COMES...

Now that draft resisters are once again going to prison, it is important that resisters, counselors, and anti-draft activists become aware of the FBI's methods and understand their rights in relation to FBI visits. Anyone even remotely associated with a resister or involved in the resistance movement may be visited by FBI agents. It is dangerous to talk with the FBI even in an attempt to clarify a position. According to the Military Law Task Force of the National Lawyers Guild, the best response is normally to close and lock the door in their faces, but this is very difficult for most people to do. Usually the next best thing is to say: "My lawyer told me not to talk to the FBI."

OUT OF THE PAST

Most of the space in the *Industrial Worker* of September 7th, 1946 was taken up by one big article titled "The Workers Who Built Cleveland". It was a special issue for distribution at the union-industry exposition at the Public Auditorium as part of the celebration of the city's 150th anniversary. It traced union struggles in Cleveland from the early conflicts of canals versus toll roads and how these had shaped the city—ordinarily unions for progress, employers opposed.

In recent years regional labor-history societies have developed in some two dozen areas, including Cleveland. The Greater Cleveland Labor History Society is publishing a bulletin, and has started serializing that 1946 *Industrial Worker* article in it.

FEAR AT WORK

Richard Kazis and Richard Grossman have written a book titled *Fear at Work: Job Blackmail, Labor, and the Environment* to refute the company-inspired notion that concern for the environment kills jobs. They point out that enforcement of environmental laws creates jobs instead, and in the long run makes industry more competitive. The direct economic benefits of clean-air and clean-water laws run into the billions, while fewer than 3,000 out of 100 million lose their jobs each year. The book can be ordered from Environmentalists for Full Employment, 1536 Sixteenth Street Northwest, Washington DC 20036.

PICKING UP IN IOWA

A growing IWW membership in Iowa are developing a regional system of communications and expect to charter a branch there this winter. They are promoting sales of the *Industrial Worker*, and their "All Workers Organizing Committee" is coming up with leaflets and stickers. They are also getting set to capitalize on Utah Phillips' concert March 16th in Iowa City.

AND IN CHICAGO

As we go to press, Dean Nolan is setting up a small "sociable" to welcome Dave Tucker from Bellingham, who inherits Mary Frohman's chores as General Secretary, and Fred Thompson is headed for a local labor-history group to give everyone a copy of the previous *Industrial Worker* with its game plan for playing history better.



ON EQUALITY

"Opponents of the vision often claim that the animating passions of egalitarian politics are envy and resentment, and it's true enough that such passions fester in every subordinate group. But envy and resentment are uncomfortable passions; no one enjoys them. Egalitarianism is not the acting out of envy; it is a conscious effort to escape the condition that produces envy.... [Its] aim is a society free from domination. That is the lively hope named by the word *equality*: no more bowing and scraping, fawning and toadying; no more fearful trembling, no more high-and-mightiness. It is not a hope for the elimination of differences; we don't all have to be the same or have the same amounts of the same things. For all important moral and political purposes, when no one possesses or controls the means of domination, men and women are one another's equals." (Michael Walzer in "The Dirty Work Should Be Shared" in the December 1982 issue of *Harpers* magazine)

UTAH PHILLIPS TOUR

Utah Phillips will brighten the new year for folks east of the Rockies as follows:

Saturday, January 8th, in Denver, Colorado.

Sunday, January 9th, at Fort Collins (either Lincoln Center or Orange Hall).

Wednesday, January 12th, at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

Friday, January 14th, at Emma-Joe's (a tavern named after Emma Goldman and Joe Hill).

Saturday, January 15th, probably in Tucson, but not confirmed as yet.

Friday, January 28th, at the Folk Lore Society in Calgary, Alberta.

Saturday, January 29th, at the Folk Lore Society in Edmonton, Alberta.

Some February dates have also been scheduled:

Friday, February 11th, at the Community Hall in Sand Point, Idaho.

Saturday, February 12th, at the Women's Center in Spokane (9th and Jefferson).

Saturday, February 19th, in Portland, Oregon (location to be announced).

To grab an open date, phone Utah or Sheila in Spokane at (509) 747-6454.

Utah says he enjoyed his back-East trip in November, meeting old-timers like Minnie and Sam and Esther in New York and Henry Pfaff in Buffalo. Henry had his old reliable literature table, but relied on his good friend Jack Kramer of NMU and the Grey Panthers to do his usual promotion this time around. He says he was glad to see Wobs with active literature tables in New York City, in the old vaudeville theater in Northampton where he put on a benefit for Alcoholics Anonymous, at Worcester, and at Voorheesville, where he met a delegation of Wobs from Albany.

On his 1983 tours Utah expects to have a good supply of his new record *We Have Fed You All For a Thousand Years*, so far available only from Aural Traditions, 3271 Main, Vancouver, British Columbia BC V5V 3M6. Sometime in January Philo is expected to issue the album—which was made from a strike-benefit performance in Vancouver, and includes some audience participation. The record title is that of an old IWW song which parodied Rudyard Kipling's imperialist claim that so many British seamen had drowned that Britain rightfully ruled the waves.

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

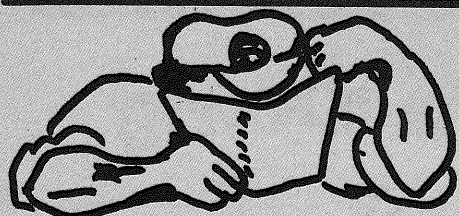
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries in fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever there is a strike or a lockout in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday fight with capitalists, but also to carry on production once capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



Books for Union People



Can Shutdowns Be Turned Around ? ? ?

THE FIGHT AGAINST SHUTDOWNS: Youngstown's Steel Mill Closings, by Staughton Lynd, 270 pages, paperback, published by Miles and Weir, Box 1906, San Pedro, California 90733, \$9.35 plus \$1.05 handling charge, 20% off on orders for two or more

The basic question in this book runs: "Why is the company allowed to make a shutdown decision unilaterally? ... Why should it be allowed to come into a community, dirty its air, foul its water, make use of the energies of its young people for generations, and then throw the place away like an orange peel?"

On Monday, September 19th, 1977, with no advance notice, the 5,000 employees at Youngstown Sheet and Tube's Campbell Works were told that they had no job, and that their work would be transferred to the company's Indiana Harbor Works. The next year the blow fell on Jones and Laughlin's Brier Hill Works, and in 1979, despite promises to the contrary, at US Steel's Ohio and McDonald Works, all within a few miles of each other in the Mahoning Valley.

Staughton Lynd, historian, developed a special interest in the perspectives of rank-and-file unionists, moved to Youngstown, studied law the better to serve that rank and file, and served them and their local unions—definitely not their international—in their efforts to keep jobs in the Youngstown area. His factual narrative of these efforts records also the growing awareness that the old-time property rights of corporations have become incompatible with community well-being, that communities have need to assert their right to survive, and that all this is part of a transition from corporate autocracy to whatever future we may build.

Background to all this: new processes in steel making, and obsolete plants in old steel centers; conglomerates eating up steel facilities to milk, mine, and discard them; old locations premised on the need to bring ore to meet a greater weight of coking coal and limestone with competitive access to a market for the product; a long-range replacement of domestic ores from Canada and Venezuela and of iron ore through the recycling of scrap iron.

The lead story here is that of YS&T's Campbell Works. In 1969 Lykes Brothers, a shipping company fattened by government subsidies into a conglomerate, acquired control of YS&T, and used its profits for more conglomerate acquisitions instead of for plant upkeep and modernization. The news that orders would now be filled from Indiana Harbor produced a stereotyped reaction: The local promptly collected 110,000 signatures on petitions asking the Government to restrict steel imports and ease the EPA so the companies could prosper, and took them to Washington. Local 1462 Secretary Gerald Dickey, who first suggested community/worker ownership of the plant, observed: "Roderick [chairman of the board at US Steel] could have written that petition."

Encouraged by church groups, the local steel workers took to Dickey's "employee-community ownership" plan, and formed an Ecumenical Coalition to promote it. By the end of October, Gar Alperovitz of the National Center for Economic Alternatives was offering the Coalition preliminary studies on the feasibility of using the idle facilities and manpower of the Mahoning Valley to produce much-needed mass-transit equipment and make the area a model for other places to follow. In mid-February a "Save Our Valley" campaign was kicked off. It got individuals to open special "Save Our Valley" accounts in local banks running to \$4 million (a fourth of it from church groups) to be available to buy shares of stock.

Employee ownership had been put into practice at 18 plywood plants in the Northwest, at a knitting mill in Saratoga Springs, and at other places, but never at anything so large as a steel mill or in any industry in which the ratio of capital equipment to payroll was so high. Feasibility studies were made, the main one by Gar Alperovitz, funded to over \$300,000 by HUD. It concluded that to modernize the Campbell Works would cost \$500 million.

With the closing of the Brier Hill works, plans extended to use of these facilities too, looking forward to electric-furnace recycling of scrap steel. The book narrates a series of promises, double deals, and obstacles: the merging of Lykes with LTV, which owned Jones and Laughlin, which owned Brier Hill; local businessmen who openly favored jobs for their customers, but "were privately happy to see the steel mills close because they believed it would now be possible to pay lower wages"; and the view of the top officers of the United Steel Workers. In 1959 it had been the USW line that high prices and profits, not foreign competition, were limiting production by steel companies in America; but with the adoption of Abel's no-strike policy there had been a switch to back company hopes to limit foreign competition. James Smith, who advised McBride on economic matters, felt that the coalition plan was a revival of the old Knights of Labor co-operative failures, that any worker-community enterprise in steel would be saddled with too high an interest-bearing debt, and that big money would not go where a third of the directors were to be elected by the employees.

Brier Hill was closed as the result of a merger of two

conglomerates that respectively owned YS&T and Jones and Laughlin and merged it with the J&L operations. The local union asked the Department of Justice to require guaranteed modernization of operation of Brier Hill as a prerequisite for that merger. The international union took the position that it was concerned only with pension guarantees, and would support the merger if that would help YS&T avoid bankruptcy. Once the merger was approved by the Department of Justice, Local 1642 wanted to meet with the J&L management; but these folks held that it would be improper to meet with employees of YS&T! When Staughton Lynd, as attorney for the Local, protested this refusal of J&L to bargain with Local 1642 to the NLRB, the international intervened to contend that the locals had no jurisdiction in such matters. The Local arranged a picket line at the Country Club—the only opportunity it could find to meet with the company management. There management said: "We are handling this through the union." The pickets answered: "But we are the union."

When US Steel announced the closing of its Youngstown Works November 27th, 1979, despite assurances that the Works would remain open, a mass meeting in Youngstown led to a picket line in Pittsburgh the following day against this "economic genocide". Because of the snow the picketers went inside and took the escalator. The elevators were shut off, leaving the corporate officers captive on the upper floors.

On that escalator a new legal strategy blossomed: The workers had been promised that the plant would continue to run, and had bought houses, cars, and the like to their detriment. And this detrimental violation of the promise was something a single employee, or a local, could take to court without the blessing of the international union. This they did. The arguments before Judge Lambros, and the Judge's own elucidations of the issues involved here, seriously assess the problem faced by legislators and jurists in a world where the facts of life are constantly being changed by such things as new technologies and the matings of conglomerates.

This book is a study of the unsuccessful efforts of workers to hold their jobs. At the same time it is a study of the growing awareness that something needs to be done about this, and the difficulty of doing that within the framework of law, tradition, and capitalist economics. Something has to give.

ft

LAST AID

Last Aid is the ominous title on a publication of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. It contains articles by doctors from Great Britain, the United States, Japan, and the Soviet Union.

The IPPNW will hold its third international congress in Holland in June. Its second congress, held in Cambridge, England in 1982, was attended by 200 delegates representing 30,000 physicians in 50 countries. The volume

Last Aid consists of papers presented at its first congress, held in Airlie House, Virginia in March 1981. IPPNW policy statements avoid getting "bogged down in debating political differences", but confirm the view that physicians' responsibility for maintaining health commits them to the prevention of nuclear war and to the removal of any illusion that a nuclear war is just one more war.

They sponsored a TV broadcast featuring three American and three Soviet physicians, all members of IPPNW, discussing the medical consequences of nuclear war. It was shown in the US as a PBS special, and in the Soviet Union (uncensored and unedited) to an estimated 100 million. The group's American office is at 225 Longwood Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115, but their books are available in most large bookstores.

Inspections Cut Deaths

Since 1911, when the Government started keeping a tally, 7,574 loggers have been killed at work in Washington, 3,852 in Oregon, 1,951 in California, and 4,250 in British Columbia. Father Andrew M. Prouty compiles these figures in his study *More Deadly Than War* (and we pick them up from a review in the *International Woodworker*). Making it more costly for companies to kill loggers did cut down the rate. Later, inspection systems did still better. At the 1917 Pacific Logging Congress, one operator explained that it was better to hire single loggers because company liability was less on them than on married men.

"Based on the fatality totals of those early years, it was still apparently cheaper for timber employers to keep replacing killed men than to put money into safety devices and training programs The major advances came after inspection systems carried out by people with logging knowledge were set up in the 1940s. Prouty suggests that some of the success enjoyed by British Columbia in reducing logging deaths, as compared to the three western states, was due to the early and more-intensive inspection program, along with the heavier sanctions and fines against management for infractions."

EVERETT MASSACRE

The Pacific Northwest Labor History Association, PO Box 25048, Northgate Station, Seattle, Washington 98125, has published Elgar Houghton's novel *The Intruders*. The book deals with the events of November 5th, 1916, when a boatload of Wobblies headed for Everett to establish free speech there, and were shot at by deputies so drunk they shot each other and then tried, unsuccessfully, to frame the Wobs. We're hoping one of our folks out that way will review it.



LITERATURE

theoretical:

- [] IWW Organizing Manual
- [] Collective Bargaining Manual
- [] IWW Preamble and Constitution
- [] Inflation: Cause and Cure
- [] General Strike for Industrial Freedom50
- [] One Big Union1.00
- [] Unions and Racism1.00
- [] Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety on the Job50

musical:

- [] IWW Songbook \$1.00
- [] The Rebel Girl (sheet music)50
- [] Workers of the World Awaken (sheet music)50

historical:

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Prostitution in Nicaragua



Prostitution is increasing throughout the world, particularly in the Third World. As traditional subsistence economies crumble under the assault of agribusiness and multinational corporations, women from Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the chief victims in the clash between the old and new forms of male dominance. Women in the emerging countries may find jobs as especially cheap labor in the textile or electronics industries, but for most there are only the "marginal service industries"—working as a maid, a launderer, or a whore.

Women, however, are not seen as *working* as whores, but as *being* whores. Thus the stigma of prostitution is theirs and theirs alone, never tainting the "tricks" who hire them. This is ridiculous, of course, but the men who have the power to make and enforce the laws and the morals don't see it that way. Thus all attempts to end prostitution by arresting prostitutes are doomed to failure.

In Nicaragua, starting with the boom of large-scale agribusiness in the 1950s, thousands of small farmers have been driven off the land. A massive migration to the cities began, further aggravated by the destructive earthquake in 1972 that left 25% of the nation homeless to multiply the shantytowns in the cities. The "Eastern Market" district of Managua alone grew to cover a square mile with more than 40,000 residents in a city of fewer than 500,000.

The peasant families that migrated to these barrios formed a vast pool of semi-employed. Men often left their families to work in the cotton, sugar, and coffee harvests for months and sometimes years. Many started new families and never returned. More than 40% of the urban households in Nicaragua are now headed by women. Families struggled to survive any way they could—the children shining shoes or selling newspapers and candy; the old men becoming street musicians or beggars; the young women becoming street vendors or prostitutes while the old women remained at home to care for the smallest children.

In the midst of this generalized misery, a vice network developed under the control and protection of Somoza's National Guard. In the "red zones" uniformed mobsters established "closed houses"—whorehouses and saloons—run by their own laws. It was not unusual for a woman and her children to be practically held prisoner in one of these houses.

Many teenage women were tricked into entering brothels with promises of work as a domestic or waitress, allowed to go into debt to the madam (a debt that could never be repaid), and then kept by force.

REVOLUTIONARY REPRESSION

The Sandinistas burned many of the brothels and gambling joints—as much to end the corruption as to attack the National Guard's business interests. When the war ended, the most notorious establishments and their owners—many of whom had connections to Somoza's secret police—faced revolutionary tribunals. Shortly after the victory in 1979 the new government reinforced its moral repudiation of "vice" by outlawing prostitution. The chaos during the insurrection had led to an enormous increase in crime and delinquency, and the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) simply lumped the prostitutes with thieves, drug dealers, and vagrants.

In May 1980, under pressure from the CDS, the police raided the remaining "red zones" throughout the country, arresting hundreds of women. In Managua's Eastern Market district the police launched a "Death to Delinquency" campaign which involved a mob of local residents demolishing the notorious "Cat's Roost" zone of cantinas and prostitutes' huts. Declared CDS leaders: "With the destruction of the 'Cat's Roost', we have finished off 40 years of prostitution."

Two weeks after the fall of the "Cat's Roost", most of the prostitutes were being hired only a few blocks away.

Owners of bars, restaurants, and hotels had begun renting cubicles by the hour to serve the trade, taking as much as a third of the women's income. The police measures had caused nothing but additional fear among the women, and many stopped going to the health centers for venereal-disease checks.

But the incident spurred some community organizations into action. Collectives were formed to help the women become cooks or seamstresses. In one of the barrios a skills/library/health-care refuge was set up in an old National Guard post. In the town of Leon 23 prostitutes started a sewing co-operative with the help of the Domestic Workers Union.

SOCIAL AND SEXUAL ROOTS

But none of these efforts survived. Their fragility reflects the depths of the problem and the failure of either legal or solely-economic solutions. In fact economic alternatives for women need to combine with a change in social attitudes (the attitudes of men and the institutions of the family and religion that foster these attitudes) for prostitution to truly decrease. Machismo—the flaunting of male privileges—flourishes in Nicaragua much as in other Latin American countries.

The prevailing attitude on prostitution was summed up by a Nicaraguan trade-unionist's comment: "You need them for men who don't have a woman. Some men would just grab a girl if they couldn't find a prostitute." Indeed, some young women have preferred that their boy friends and fiancés go to prostitutes rather than be pushed into premarital sexual relations that could endanger their reputations and marriage prospects. The women themselves think prostitution necessary "for the men to relieve themselves...for the single men, or the married men in bad with their wives...for the growing youths who need experience."

In the end, changing Nicaraguan society and its deeply-rooted schemes of machismo and sexual tyranny will be the hardest battle. For the moment, all that has changed is the location of prostitution in Nicaragua. In the hope of avoiding the repressive and sweeping nature of former police efforts, the Social Welfare Ministry has started a new project in the town of Corino that would involve job training along with community education in the hope of "progressive elimination of prostitution as a means of subsistence". Perhaps from such new efforts will come the experience and knowledge needed to deal more deeply with the problems of the prostitution of women.

plp



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Because there are things we can do together that we cannot do alone. Some of these things will benefit your job and some will merely benefit the human race. Whether we are in a position to get you a pay raise or not, your conscience will repay you and your self-respect will increase if you join with us to get things done.

Since we are a union, this offer is open only to those who work for wages or salary; but since we are building One Big Union, it is open to wage and salary workers whether they happen to bargain through other unions or not. Look at the directory on Page 7. If you can readily reach someone there, do so. If not, write to the General Secretary, IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Chicago 60657, with a line about your job. The initiation fee is \$5 in the US, and dues are \$5 a month.

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ILLINOIS: IWW, 3435 N. Sheffield, Chicago 60657, phone 312-549-5045. Members meet first Sunday at one at members' homes. For information call hall or Fred Thompson at 227-3630.

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AUSTRALIA: IWW Sydney Office, 417 King Street, 1st Floor, Newton, Sydney, Australia

At the Knowledge Factories



DOES EDUCATION PAY?

The National Center for Education Statistics finds that women going to college get ahead of their non-collegiate sisters in about four years, but it takes men seven years or more to earn more than their non-collegiate brothers. That's just in terms of money, and doesn't consider differences in job interest or working conditions.

The Center surveyed the class of 1972 on five occasions. It finds that men with high-school diplomas but no college started work at age 18 averaging \$4.63, and women in that category started at \$3.76. By 1976 these men with no college were averaging \$5.95, and those who had gone to college had not quite caught up with their earnings; and by 1979 only those with advanced degrees had caught up (at \$7.08 an hour) with schoolmates who had not gone to college. After that, it is expected that the difference will be substantial.

Meanwhile, women college graduates passed the earning rates of their non-collegiate sisters at age 22, and by 1979 were earning \$6.06 an hour if they had bachelor's degrees as against \$4.57 for female high-school graduates.

WHO PAYS FOR EDUCATION?

The hours of study are of course the major payment for what is learned. The tax system does make it easier for the "middle class" to send their kids to college than for the less affluent. Uncle Sam celebrated Pearl Harbor Day with a giant howl that 46,860 federal employees owed him \$68 million in unpaid student loans, and that if they didn't repay these loans 15% of their pay would be garnished until their student-loan debt was repaid in full. But that is only 48,860 students out of a total of 800,000 student-loan defaulters.

But in the more-basic terms in which all this would be viewed by some keen-thinking critter from outer space, the work of the world is done by people living on very different standards and doing work of very different degrees of repugnance—and he'd have a gut feeling that somehow those who were getting the least were paying the most, even when their training greatly limited what they could contribute to social well-being. He would surely raise the question whether those getting the advantages of this educational establishment were contributing substantially to the common good.

Are the chemists and physicists getting set to make life better, or to make life hell? Are the journalists studying how to awaken the human race to dump those who are driving us to destruction? Are the folks flocking into computer studies figuring how this latest gadgetry could help us better plan the use of the earth's resources for the good of mankind? Or is the Dirty Tricks Department still gulling those who want to study primitive cultures or plant life in far-off places or the relics of ancient civilizations into serving its anti-human purposes?

THE IWW ON CAMPUS

For decades the IWW has had some members working at colleges (some as instructors, some as groundskeepers, some in clerical jobs)—scattered individuals who liked the IWW practices and aims. But there were not enough of them in any unit to bargain as a union. Then in the '60s many students, as part of their uprising, asked to join the IWW. Some of these joined some industrial union of the IWW on the basis of their part-time jobs, but a convention resolved that students too were part of the education industry—apprentices to their future trades—and set up Education Workers Industrial Union 630 to foster the solidarity of students, instructors, cafeteria workers, librarians, maintenance employees, and the like.

The largest such unit developed at Waterloo, Ontario. There and on campuses where the IWW had only a handful, one major concern that developed was to discourage the recruitment of students to go scabbing on their summer vacations. The need for that made plain that there must be something very wrong with what gets taught at these knowledge factories. On the most elementary union grounds, as well as for the high aims of the IWW, we feel that something needs to be done about that.

The idea of Industrial Union 630 has been to apply the One Big Union concept of industrial unionism to the campus situation: solidarity throughout, and with the working-class community outside, along with functional structures within the knowledge industry to take care of job-related interests. Currently the IWW's largest campus-related unit is at the bookstore that serves the students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The workers there selected the IWW partly because they liked its aims, but also for the autonomy and shop democracy that they needed to apply good union principles to their immediate situation.

If the IWW can help workers on some campus improve their job conditions, we are happy to do so. But in a world that we fear is racing toward destruction, we hope and trust that some people in that industry are as aware as we are of the ugly probabilities and of what can be done to avert them, and we look to them for help as human beings with needed expertise to make this planet the pleasant and secure home of the human race.

ft

As the world's work hinges more and more on a rapidly-growing fund of skills and information, the one-room schoolhouse gives way to a vast academic establishment. Its roots go back centuries to the search for "the true, the good, and the beautiful", but in recent years most of its activities have been more akin to breaking in the ox to the plow—job training for the more sophisticated tasks that the job dispensers want someone to do.

There is a conflict between these two sets of goals, as well as the conflicts typical of any job relationship—over pay, hours, and working conditions. Where groups of people at work share common interests in conflict with authority, they form unions. In fact the term "university" goes back centuries to refer to the common bond of students and doctors against the demands of townsmen for more of their money for food and lodging and for exemption from external authority.

Unions have been growing—some as professional associations, some as trade unions—on campus. They have gravitated toward issues of seniority, job tenure, hours, and pay—whether their members keep the plumbing in good repair or teach philosophy. So there are teachers in the AFT and NEA and professors in these or in the AAUP, sundry organizations of teaching assistants, and growing unionism among the host of clerical and technical workers that a modern knowledge box requires.

THE UAW ON CAMPUS

A recent issue of the United Auto Workers' *Ammo* summarizes the union's success in organizing college employees. The NLRB has quit viewing colleges as non-profit institutions exempt from NLRB elections. "UAW ties to college," *Ammo* recalls, "go back to the early '70s when clericals and technicians at Wayne County Community College joined the UAW, and clericals at Barnard College in New York City joined District 65—which has since affiliated with the UAW". It has recently formed a National Academic Council to serve sundry employee groups that it has organized at "Cornell in upstate New York, Boston University, Eastern Michigan, Northern Michigan, Barnard, Teachers College, Wayne County Community College, Oakland University, Wayne State University, Union Theological Seminary, and Otterbein College in Ohio".

It finds that issues of job safety, stress, harassment, and job classification, as well as routine issues of hours, pay, and benefits, are not unlike the problems workers face in other industries. And it finds much the same union-busting techniques there too.

EDUCATION FOR JOBS

Though there are unemployed PhDs, three fourths of the unemployed sampled in a recent Bureau of Labor Statistics survey had not continued their education beyond high school.

That survey concluded that about a fourth of the total work force between 25 and 64 now have college degrees. About half of those born in the postwar baby boom have at least one year of college. The fifth of the work force without a high-school diploma are more likely to be jobless than the rest, and to earn less.

There has been a great shift in Illinois public universities toward vocational studies. Between 1976 and 1982 enrollment in courses rose 235% in computer science, 56% in engineering, 44% in banking and finance, and 41% in geology and economics, but declined 70% in the physical sciences, 63% in social services, and 56% in philosophy. Colleges are not only looking more like factories, they are functioning more like them too.



"It's great he has a Ph.D., but I wish he had a union card."

UAW AMMO

Wage Slaves Defined

James P. Thompson was a famous IWW speaker. In 1930 he wrote down one of his favorite soapbox illustrations in the pamphlet *25 Years of Industrial Unionism*:

To illustrate what a wage slave is, suppose you owned a nice automobile and someone should say to you, "I want to use your car until it is all worn out. I will give it gas and oil enough to keep it running until it can't run anymore." Surely you would not agree to that. You wouldn't allow

anybody to use your car until it was all worn out just for gas and oil.

But, mark you well, if you are a wage worker that is what you are doing with your body. The capitalists use you until you are all worn out, and all they aim to give you is what the chattel slaves got, what the serfs got, what a horse gets, a bare living, and you are not even sure of that. How about your children? You parents spend many happy hours teaching your children how to walk and how to talk. Long years are spent upon their education. When they get to be wonderful young men and women with their eyes brightly shining like the headlights on a new car, and with their veins and arteries like the wiring on a new car, and their hearts beating without a murmur, like the smooth running of new engines, then the capitalists say to the proud parents, "We want to use your children to produce wealth for us and for our children. Just as we have used you to produce wealth for us, so our children want to use your children to produce wealth for them when we are gone."

The parents ask, "What are our children to get for the use of their bodies during the precious years of their lives?" Answer, "Gas and oil." A mere living wage. The endless chain that starts and ends with work. Work to get money, to buy food, to get strength to work. Every increase in the productivity of labor, every invention, every victory of science and triumph of genius in the line of industrial progress, only goes to increase the wealth of a parasite class while the workers are only supposed to get what slave classes always got, a bare living and often not even that. This is wage slavery, the foundation of capitalism.

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